

AMERICAN COMMERCE.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ZACHARIAH CHANDLER,

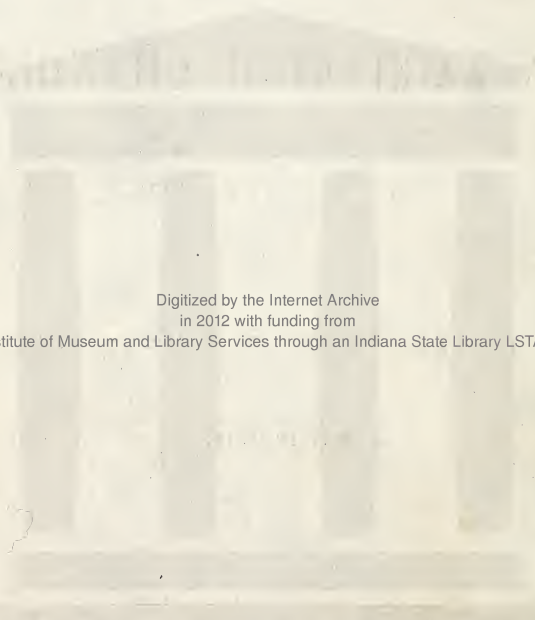
OF MICHIGAN,

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

MAY 28, 1870.

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AMERICAN COMMERCE.

On the following resolution, submitted by him on the 25th instant:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire and report as to the most feasible and effective method for restoring the foreign commerce of the United States to American vessels—

Mr. CHANDLER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: It will be noticed that the resolution instructs the Committee on Commerce to inquire into the best methods of restoring our foreign commerce to the American flag. It is a fact, although a humiliating one, that our flag has been practically driven from the ocean so far as our foreign commerce is concerned. Our domestic and coastwise commerce was never in a more prosperous condition than it is to-day; but from the foreign traffic our flag has been driven. The question is, what shall be done to restore to our flag the commerce which it formerly almost monopolized?

Prior to 1860 we built the best and cheapest ships in the world. American clippers were the fastest and most economical ships that sailed the ocean. In consequence of that we built ships for the world. England, Germany, France, Turkey, China, the whole world, purchased more or less of our ships. It was no uncommon thing for a ship-owner in Maine to take a cargo of lumber to New Orleans, from New Orleans or Mobile a cargo of cotton to the Baltic, from the Baltic a cargo, perhaps, to Calcutta, and so around the world; and finally, at the end of three or four years, that ship would take a cargo of teas for the United States and return, having earned during that time more money than her original cost and outfit. She was refitted and went again on her rounds, and again returned with a fortune to her owners.

But, sir, that is all changed now. Twenty-

seven years ago I spent a winter abroad, and at that time I saw more ships bearing the American than the flag of any other nation in the different ports which I visited. During the past summer, in a six months' journey or more, I do not remember having seen but one single American flag on European waters. I saw one American flag in a port of Holland. The ship had gone there with a cargo of petroleum, and that was the only American flag that I happened to see. There were other American flags there undoubtedly, but I did not see them. Virtually we are driven from the ocean.

In the days of our prosperous commerce the immigrant traffic was all done by sailing ships. There was a single line of steamships, the Cunard line, then running; but those ships were small, and carried few if any immigrants. Our fast-sailing clippers, the Black Ball line and other lines of American ships, brought the great bulk of immigrants. The traffic was a profitable one. But, sir, that is all changed. Now it is impossible for an American wooden ship to obtain a cargo of immigrants at any price. Then most of the valuable merchandise of the world came to this country in those fast-sailing ships. To-day not a pound of valuable merchandise is brought in sailing ships. It is all changed. Our ships can obtain a full cargo to any port in Europe of cotton or grain or tobacco, or any of the products of the United States, but they can get no profitable return cargo. A single cargo does not pay for a voyage both ways. Now a ship loading with a cargo of cotton for a German port must either go to England and take a return cargo of coal or of iron, the cheapest of all freights, or go to Turk's Island and take a cargo of salt at a mere nominal rate, and return virtually in ballast so far as her bill of lading is concerned.

What is the cause of this great change? It is that there has been a revolution in commerce, a revolution as complete since the year 1860 as though a century had intervened. To-day all immigrants, all valuable freights, all profitable cargoes are shipped by steam propellers. Iron has taken the place of wood, and steam the place of wind. Why, sir, you remember when you first went to Indiana that you took the packet-boat; if you did not, I did when I first went to Michigan, and went at the tremendous speed of four miles an hour through the State of New York, and was two weeks on the route from Boston to Detroit. The packet-boat business was ruined, absolutely ruined, by the building of railroads. The packet men had to give it up.

Why, sir, you remember very well that a few years ago we had colossal steamboats on the lakes. I remember there were four on the line running from Detroit to Buffalo that cost \$250,000 each. They were magnificent boats; but when the railroad lines were completed around the south shore of Lake Erie and across Canada those ships ceased to be agents of commerce. They ran them one year at a loss. They then laid them up, and they laid there three, four, five, or six years. They then took out the engines and sold them for what they were worth and turned the hulls into wooden barges, and to-day they are agents of commerce. But while they lay there with their engines in them they ceased to be agents of commerce.

Sir, you may own a thousand ships, and if you cannot run them profitably you have no commerce. You may build a thousand ships, and if you cannot run them: at a profit you have no commerce. Ship-building is not commerce. Ship-owning is not commerce. They are merely the agents of commerce. Our commerce goes on as it used to do. We have more commerce now than we had when we had the carrying trade; but unfortunately for us that commerce is carried under a foreign flag. There is not a single mail going from the United States to-day to any port in Europe that goes under the American flag. You cannot send a letter to Europe by steam under American colors. Why is this? It is because of the revolution that has taken place in commerce. We can compete to-day with any nation on earth, and do compete in the building of wooden ships, whether they be steam or sailing vessels. To-day we have control almost of the Chinese inland traffic under the American flag, because it is carried on in wooden ships, and because American wooden ships are better adapted to inland traffic than any other ships built in the world. To-day upon the Rhine they have what is called "the American line." They are after the pattern of American river ships. Whether they were built in America or not I do not know, but they are called there as familiarly

"the American line" as the Cunarders are called "the Cunard line."

Now, Mr. President, our ship-building interest is depressed; we are building no ships. Our ship-owning interest is depressed, and why? It is that the commerce formerly carried on under the American flag throughout the world has been driven home upon us, and to-day we have more ships than we can profitably employ in coastwise trade. Our coastwise and inland trade is a strict monopoly, just as much a monopoly as manufacturing McCormick's reapers under a patent. We allow no foreign ship to touch a single pound or carry it a rod; it is a monopoly for Americans. But, sir, the foreign traffic is open to the world; the foreign traffic is entirely free; and whoever can do the business the quickest and the cheapest will obtain it. Prior to 1860 we could do it the quickest and the cheapest with our Baltimore clippers, and we did it; but since 1860, as I said before, a revolution has taken place as complete as though a century had intervened.

Sir, the commerce of the lakes is in the same situation as the commerce of the ocean. There is no ship-building on the lakes, or very little, and vessel owners are bitterly complaining of depression in their business; and why is this? It is because there has been a revolution in the carrying trade. Four competing lines of railroad have been carried through from the Atlantic to the Mississippi river, and those four lines of railroad each have a terminus in Chicago, and to-day there are millions, and for aught I know hundreds of millions of tons, certainly many millions of tons of freight that used to go around the lakes or float down the Mississippi river, and load ships from New Orleans to New York, that are brought across by rail; and it is railroad competition that has depressed the shipping interest of the lakes.

But, sir, they must submit. As those magnificent ships were displaced, broken up, destroyed, when they came in competition with railroads and would not pay, so must the vessel interests of the lakes submit to the inevitable. They may have too many ships to-day; but three, or four, or five years will remedy that; perhaps one or two years, by the annual loss, by the annual wear and tear, will reduce them to the required number; and then, sir, our ship-yards will again be lively and our vessel-owners satisfied; but until that time comes they must wait.

Just so it is on the Atlantic. The ships that by hundreds and by thousands used to be engaged in foreign traffic have all been driven home substantially, and to-day we have more ships than we can profitably use. They must wait until the natural decay and wear and tear and loss by accident shall have reduced the number to where they will pay, and again your ship-yards will be busy.

But, sir, I am thus far talking about our domestic commerce. How are we to get back the traffic of the world? That is the point. How are we to have our flag exhibited in every port of the world? How are we to resume our position as one of the chief carriers of the world?

Mr. President, this domestic commerce of which I have been speaking consists to-day of a little more than four million three hundred thousand tons, or the second largest commerce in the world. There is no nation to-day, except Great Britain, that has an equal amount of carrying commerce with us. Our inland and coastwise commerce is greater than that of any other nation on the earth except Great Britain. But the question now is, how are we to restore the foreign traffic to our flag? and it is a question that I approach with great diffidence; it is a question exceedingly difficult to solve. A sub-committee of the Committees on Commerce of the Senate and of the House has had this question under consideration for about three months. We have met once a week, and sometimes twice. My friend from Maryland [Mr. VICKERS] will correct me if I am wrong. We have had before us the largest ship-builders, both of iron and of wooden ships, in the United States. We have had the largest vessel-owners before us, even vessel-owners engaged in the Chinese trade, and we find that their views are so conflicting that it will be almost if not absolutely impossible to meet the expectations of any of them.

The vessel-builder can see nothing in commerce but building ships; he thinks that if you stimulate the building of ships you are building up your commerce. Well, sir, you may build ten thousand ships, and if you cannot run them profitably you have no commerce. They will lie and rot at your docks if they lose five dollars a trip. The vessel-owners can see nothing of commerce but ship-owning. Well, sir, you may own ten thousand ships, and if you cannot run them profitably you have no commerce. If they lose five dollars a trip they will not run; they must make a profit. As I said before, the great question is, how shall we restore this commerce to our flag. Here we meet with almost insuperable obstacles.

There are several ways that suggest themselves to my own mind; and I wish it distinctly understood that I do not speak for the Committee on Commerce or for any member of the Committee on Commerce of either House. I merely speak for myself, and commit no man. There are several ways that have suggested themselves to my mind. We might, by abrogating our present treaties with all the nations of the earth, impose differential duties between our own and all other flags, and that might be of benefit to our commerce. I see that a member of the other House has introduced a bill with that view. I already had that proposition

among my notes; but in my judgment it would not lead to any material benefit, because every other nation would pass retaliatory laws. Spain has always pursued that course, as she does to-day. In the island of Cuba there is a differential duty imposed upon all foreign vessels, but we are not much disposed to follow the example of Spain; it is now rather late in the day for us to copy Spain, and still I am not sure but that we may be driven to that very course. I do not commit myself one way or the other.

Then it is the opinion of some that drawbacks will accomplish this desirable end, drawbacks upon all materials that enter into the composition of a ship. If drawbacks will restore this foreign commerce to our flag I for one would be willing to-morrow, so far as the foreign commerce of the nation is concerned, to allow a drawback. I say this is my own personal preference, but I do not even commit myself to that, for I have serious doubts whether it will accomplish the object. I had drawn a bill with that provision in it which I have never yet presented, because, as I said before, of the difficulties surrounding the case. I do not now offer this bill; I merely read it as a contribution to the solution of this question:

"That from and after the passage of this act when, any imported materials are used in the construction or equipment of ships built in the United States for the purpose of being sold or used in foreign trade and commerce, there shall be allowed and paid to the parties building such ships, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, a sum of money equal in amount to the duty which shall have been paid on such materials at the time of importation. And in case materials of domestic growth, manufacture, or production enter into the construction and equipment of such ship, there shall be allowed and paid to the parties building the same, under like regulations, a sum of money equal in amount to the duties on such materials had such materials been imported from foreign countries: *Provided, however,* That any ship built under the provisions of this section shall be allowed to engage in the coasting trade of the United States only upon the repayment of the money which had been paid by the United States on the construction and equipment of such vessel."

That, mark you; Mr. President, applies to the foreign traffic. A proposition to allow drawbacks on the domestic traffic would be utterly disastrous. A foreign ship confined to the foreign traffic only is in the exact position of merchandise in bond. She is confined to the foreign traffic and cannot interfere with the coastwise trade at all, and that foreign traffic is as free as the air. Why, sir, one cent on one hundred pounds, other things being equal, would control the traffic of the world, and the nation or the individual that can underbid or excel another in speed of transit or in cheapness of transit or in safety of transit will have and hold the commerce of the world until somebody else can beat it.

But what would be the effect of the common, universal drawback proposed? I think the prop-

osition is to allow an average drawback of ten dollars per ton on every ton of shipping built in the United States to engage in the domestic or foreign trade. What would be the effect of that? As I have stated before, we have four million three hundred thousand tons, nearly or all engaged in the coastwise and inland trade. The effect of this would be to reduce the value of that shipping instantly by a stroke of the pen to the full amount of the bounty you allow to ship-builders to-day; in other words, by the passage of that bill you diminish the value of your present shipping to the extent of \$48,000,000 and furnish no equivalent, because unless the present owners will reduce the value of their ships to the cost of production now, with the drawback, new ships will be built, and you will not increase your commerce. They will increase your competition; they will not take an immigrant passenger from abroad, and they will not bring a pound of valuable freight. They will enter into and further depress your present depressed shipping interest on the coast, and you will rob the present vessel-owners of about forty-eight million dollars and furnish them no equivalent whatever.

But, sir, by allowing a drawback on foreign commerce, as I have suggested, you rob nobody. You have not got the foreign commerce now; it has all gone from you. How will you get it back? I am ready to go a little further than that. I am willing that our ships engaged in the foreign traffic shall have the same drawbacks on the material used that foreign Governments give theirs, and I put this on as an amendment, taken from Mr. LYNN's bill:

And be it further enacted, That all ship stores and coal to be used and consumed by any vessel on its voyage from any port in the United States to any foreign port may, in such quantities and under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, be taken in whole packages in bond and disposed of for such purposes free of import and internal duty and tax.

I am willing to do that for the foreign traffic, not the coastwise. The coastwise traffic, as I have said over and over again, is a strict and rigid monopoly. It needs no more protection than the manufacture of sewing-machines. If one additional ship can be used profitably to-morrow it will be built. It needs no drawback, no bounties. Let it alone. The keeping up of these four million three hundred thousand tons of shipping will compel the building of about four hundred and thirty thousand tons of shipping a year, for the life of a wooden ship is about ten years, and during those ten years the repairs of a wooden ship cost as much as the original outlay. Her life is about ten years, and it compels not only the building of four hundred and thirty thousand tons of shipping a year to keep up this domestic and coastwise commerce, but an expenditure during ten years in repairs for our ship-yards equal to the original cost.

Mr. NYE. Does that apply to a steamer? Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, sir; but a sailing ship costs much less than a steamer, and her life is the same. The average is ten years, while the average life of an iron ship is twenty-one years; that is to say, the life of an iron ship has not yet been tested. At the German Lloyds and the French Lloyds they give an iron ship an A 1 register for twenty-one years. If in her appearance she is well built, she has an A 1 register for twenty-one years, whereas a wooden ship, I think, has an A 1 register for seven years. At the end of twenty-one years they will examine her again, and if found in good condition they will give her an A 1 register for a further period.

In this revolution to which I have alluded steam and iron have taken the place of wood and sails, and that is all there is to it. You may ask why can we not compete in steam and iron with the world? Mr. President, for the best of reasons. While I was abroad last summer I made this very subject of ship-building my special study. I went through the ship-yards upon the Clyde. I saw yards there with four or five thousand workmen, where they brought in the iron in the ore from a distance of not more than ten or twelve miles; and on the other side they brought in coal from not a great distance at one end of the yard, and turned out three thousand ton ships at the other; and every single item that went into a ship was manufactured in that yard. So long as labor is under one dollar a day in Scotland, and over two dollars a day in the United States, we cannot compete on the free ocean in building iron ships. It is an absolute impossibility; for it is estimated that five eighths of the cost of a ship is labor. They can build ships cheaper than we can. Hence they have taken possession of this trade of the world, and now the question is, what shall we do to get it back? Some of our ship-builders say they can compete if we will give them drawbacks. I am willing to let them try.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am very much interested in the statement of my honorable friend, but I would suggest to him that an answer has been made to the difficulty he now suggests, and I should like to have his view upon it. It is said that the American ship-builders can compete so far as labor is concerned, because they use machinery as a substitute for labor, and in that way they can compete. I should like to hear the result of his observations on that point.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am much obliged to the Senator for making that suggestion. The thing is exactly the reverse. In those ship-yards the English have been practicing this iron ship-building for more than thirty years. They have failed over and over and over again. They have built ships that required too much coal and were too expensive to run. They

have built ships of too small a size, which had to be taken out of one trade and put into another. But in these thirty years of experimenting they have accumulated in those yards every conceivable piece of machinery known to the inventive genius of this age.

Mr. NYE. Allow me to suggest that Mr. Roach, in the iron-works at New York, can cut iron cheaper in New York than they can in England with all their machinery.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is possible. They can make brass clocks cheaper in Connecticut than anywhere else in the world.

Mr. NYE. They are trying to use his machine on the Clyde.

Mr. CHANDLER. The cutting is a very small item. The cutting is done by shears by power, and it has exactly the same relative proportion to the building of a ship that the cutting of a coat has to the making of a coat. I do not say that we cannot make as good ships as any nation on earth, for we can; but there they have every conceivable piece of machinery, and all the work that machinery can or will do is there done by machinery. They will heat a piece of iron to a certain heat, put it into a mold, and it is pressed to the exact curve to fit the ship. Ten men can hammer that piece of iron in a day into the same shape; but it does not take ten minutes to put it into that mold and fit it to the ship.

There are millions of dollars expended, lying idle, to be used only in the construction of a certain class and size of ships—millions of dollars lying idle in those vast ship-yards on the Clyde. They not only have every conceivable piece of machinery, but they have their derricks right beside the ship, and lift the piece of iron and apply it right to the ship, and there is no use in saying that we have any advantage over them in machinery, because if we had attained the least conceivable advantage they would have forty men across the Atlantic in forty minutes, if they could get over in that time, and steal it from us. We have no advantage.

Mr. SUMNER. Allow me to ask if we have not an advantage in the quality of our iron?

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, we have an advantage in the quality of our iron. Our iron is better than any other iron on earth; but their iron will last twenty-one years certainly, and whether it will last fifty or not, no man can yet tell.

Mr. SUMNER. I have been told that it happens frequently that with their iron the screw parts in mid-ocean, so that the ship becomes unmanageable.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is true.

Mr. SUMNER. The screw is made of English iron, and I have been assured that our iron would not part in that way.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is a question to be decided by actual tests; no theory can settle it. Ours is a tougher iron. The tensile strength our iron will bear is much greater than any other. Lake Superior iron is the best in the world; but of course its tensile strength does not add to its resisting power. You understand how these screws are propelled. Here is a piece of iron perhaps one hundred feet long reaching to the engines that turn the screw. The strain is tremendous. Whether our iron or whether any iron can be made that will never fail of course can be decided only by actual trial. We cannot tell anything about it by theory. But we have a certain advantage, how great I cannot say, in the quality of our iron.

But, sir, a three-thousand ton ship that will cost on the Clyde from sixty to ninety thousand pounds, that is, from three hundred to four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, will cost in the United States somewhere from six to eight hundred thousand dollars, and we cannot help it. We had before us the other day the oldest builder of iron ships in the United States, a gentleman—and a very worthy gentleman, indeed—from Wilmington, Delaware. He told us that he was building iron ships now; "But," said he, "wherever I come in competition with England in the building of a ship, if it is a ship large enough to cross the Atlantic, I lose the contract. I have built some ships for Mexico, some for South America, some for Chili, but they have all been ships of light tonnage, for coastwise and river navigation. They cannot cross the Atlantic." We had before us a gentleman largely engaged in the Chinese trade. He is running his ships under the American flag. He said he was willing to pay twenty per cent. more for American ships for national pride, but he could not pay a greater difference.

Mr. NYE. As we are listening with great attention, and desire information on this question, I desire to ask the honorable Senator from Michigan how it is that, taking the ships, for instance, of the Pacific mail steamship line, they use on an average per day forty-four tons of coal, and they make as great a distance on the average as the screw steamers that use eighty or ninety tons a day? How is that?

Mr. CHANDLER. It simply is not so; that is all. We have had that subject under consideration. Those steamers on the Pacific are splendid ships.

Mr. NYE. I do not quite like the answer.

Mr. CHANDLER. I beg pardon. I meant no offense.

Mr. NYE. I do not like the answer because I profess to be as accurately informed on that subject as the Senator can be. I have the statistics myself.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will answer the Senator.

Mr. THURMAN. I beg to suggest that the

Senator from Michigan is making a systematic, studied, and instructive speech, and the best way is not to interrupt him.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is no interruption. I am very glad to be asked any question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Michigan will suspend. The morning hour has expired, and the unfinished District of Columbia business will be taken up.

Mr. THURMAN. I move that it be passed over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no objection it will be passed over informally, subject to a demand for the regular order. The Senator from Michigan will resume.

Mr. CHANDLER. The ships plying between San Francisco and Japan are probably the finest ships in the world. They are ships of five or six thousand tons burden, and will run further with a given amount of coal and carry more freight with a given amount of coal than any other ocean steamers; but they make a little more than ten miles an hour, not eleven. If you force them up to the speed attained on the Atlantic they would burn more coal than the screw propellers burn. But there is a minimum rate of speed at which the ship is run the cheapest. For example, take a ship that will run twelve miles an hour—the Pacific mail steamers do not make eleven miles quite; their speed is between ten and eleven miles, while the fastest of these iron ships make fifteen on an average—take a ship that will run twelve miles an hour on thirty-five tons of coal, which is the amount I think that these ships burn; to get fifteen miles an hour it will take seventy-five tons of coal, the last three miles requiring more coal per hour than the first twelve. There is an easy motion of the ship through the water at a certain speed, which she loses when you increase that speed beyond a certain point. Those ships, as I said before, are the finest in the world; they are wooden ships, built in New York, I believe, of five or six thousand tons burden.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him? I think the Senator wants to state the case accurately.

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think those ships do not exceed thirty-five hundred tons.

Mr. NYE. Four thousand, all but one.

Mr. CHANDLER. I wish to be accurate. I was under the impression that some one stated the other day that they were five thousand tons; but say four thousand tons. They are the finest wooden ships that probably were ever built for sea service, and the most economical to run that were ever built; but they do not make the time that it is requisite to make between this and Great Britain on the Atlantic to come in competition with these iron screws. I ran one day three hundred and seventy-three

miles in twenty-four hours on one of the French screws, and the average of the voyage, I think, was about three hundred and fifty miles per day. But, of course, I am not thoroughly conversant with that. These propellers have a freight capacity that is perfectly enormous. The machinery occupies so small a part of the ship that the freighting capacity is very great. A three-thousand ton iron ship will do the work of three times the same amount of tonnage under sail. In other words, an iron ship of three thousand tons propelled by steam will do the work of nine one-thousand ton sailing ships. Hence it requires a less number of tons of shipping to do the business by steam than it did to do it by sail.

I hold in my hand a document from the German Lloyds, a curious and perhaps an instructive document. I have just had it translated from German into English by one of the employés of the Senate, Mr. Wagner. This German Lloyds has been in operation several years and has been a very successful company. This is their report. There is but this one copy of it in the United States. It has come into my possession within a day or two. It is a report made to their stockholders, giving the earnings of every ship in the whole line in detail, the cost of repairs, &c. There is a great deal of very valuable information in it. They say in their report:

"The New York line first and last constitutes the chief source of our revenues. The eleven steamers appropriated to this line make altogether sixty-four passages, the gross receipts of which amount to 3,510,097 rix-dollars, or on an average 54,845 rix-dollars per trip; against 2,854,000 rix-dollars, or 52,889 rix-dollars per trip in 1868; so that the total receipts from all the passages in 1869 were 635,697 rix-dollars, and of the several trips 1,936 rix-dollars greater than in 1868. This results mainly from the increased transportation of passengers, the account of which stands thus."

I bring this up to show the importance of commerce to a nation. This German Lloyds has lines of steamers to Baltimore, to New York, to New Orleans, and different ports of the Baltic; but their main profit is derived from the New York line. Last year that New York line earned over twenty-five per cent. on the whole capital invested.

Mr. THURMAN. Where are their vessels built?

Mr. CHANDLER. On the Clyde, I believe. They have but one ship that they built themselves. They are mostly built on the Clyde, but are repaired in Germany. The company, in this report, state that they have expended one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty thousand dollars for a dry-dock to do all their repairs and all their cleaning, and are increasing their work annually. The whole capital invested is about eight million rix-dollars, or \$6,000,000 of our money, but it has grown up from the profits of the first few ships.

I am told that the Cunard line, which is the largest and perhaps most prosperous there is, has never drawn on the stockholders for a dollar since the original outlay for the first ships. The profits are enormous.

When our commerce is done under the American flag, when it is owned by Americans; it is for the interest of every man to open new channels of commerce and establish new lines. Sometimes they will not pay, and rarely do they pay at first; but from the vast accumulated capital of these German companies they have gone on until they are willing to start lines that do not pay. Here is a curious calculation. The steamer Bremer of that line lost on her first trip to New Orleans \$4,418 24. The cost of repairs was \$19,186 27, and the advance for future repairs \$5,000, making a total loss of \$28,604 51. This is in rix-dollars. That is the amount on one side of the ledger, and on the other side it seems that the profit of the steamer Bremer on her first trip to New York was \$5,917 59; on her second trip to New York, \$18,392 30; on her third trip to New York, \$13,875 16, making a total profit of \$42,872 38. And deducting from this the debit on the opposite side of the ledger the net earnings of the steamer Bremer for that year were \$14,267 59, this amount being in rix-dollars. Then comes the case of the steamer New York. The loss on her first trip to New Orleans was \$8,822 38. The cost of repairs \$28,204 54, and the advance for future repairs \$5,000, making a total loss of \$42,027 20. Then, on the opposite side of the account, the steamer New York made a profit on her first trip to New York of \$4,943 25; on her second trip, \$8,076 22; on her third trip, \$16,814 02; on the fourth, \$12,077 67, and on her fifth trip, \$5,419 29; making a total of \$47,331 01. And deducting the loss on the voyage to New Orleans there was a profit of \$5,303 53 on the steamer New York. Then the steamer America lost on a trip to New Orleans \$590 20; the cost of repairs was \$6,551 37, and the advance for future repairs \$27,000, making a total of \$34,141 57. On the other hand, the steamer America on her first voyage to New York make a profit of \$2,812 20; on her second voyage, \$17,106 68; on the third, \$25,880 43; on the fourth, \$18,323; and on the fifth, \$19,161 18, or a total profit of \$82,287 36; from which, deducting the losses on the other side, there is a net profit left of \$49,145 51 for that ship. So they go on. They are perfectly content to deduct the loss on one ship from the earnings of another. They not only have started lines to Baltimore and New Orleans which did not pay last year, and which they say they think will soon pay, but in this their report, which I hold in my hands, they say that they will establish lines to the West Indies and

South America during the present year. They do not care if they lose for a year or two; the enormous profits on the New York business will make their dividends entirely satisfactory. Notwithstanding this discount of their losses on their ships—and they are all put down in detail in the report which I have here—they divided last year sixteen per cent. upon their whole capital and carried a surplus to the sinking fund for the coming year. There are other ships of their line that earn as much as \$116,000; but I have given enough to show the idea.

Now, Senators may ask, if this traffic is so profitable why do not our own people go into it? Well, Mr. President, they do not for the best reason in the world. In the first place what costs these people \$6,000,000 would cost our shipping merchants ten or eleven million dollars, to say the least.

Mr. THURMAN. In gold?

Mr. CHANDLER. No, sir; in currency. There is only a difference of twelve or fourteen per cent. But it would cost certainly from nine to eleven millions. There is a vast difference in the outset in the capital invested. Then, again, these cheap ships have it in their power to break down an American line, and they will do it the very first year you start one. They will put the price so low that an American line could not run or would run necessarily at a loss. It is in their power to do so. These foreign ships all have an understanding and monopolize this traffic.

Last year there were about three hundred thousand emigrant passengers landed in New York. The average price for carrying these passengers is thirty-five dollars. The lowest price is thirty dollars, or five pounds in gold. The German lines, I think, charge eight pounds, as the distance is greater. They feed the passengers, which costs them about half a dollar a day. One of the largest ship-owners told me that it cost them that to feed emigrant passengers. The great profit of these steam lines is in carrying emigrant passengers. The ship in which I went out last summer brought over thirteen hundred emigrants on her return trip at thirty dollars each, which was \$39,000 in gold say, received for emigrant passengers alone, while the whole cost of the round trip of that ship was less than forty thousand dollars. Now, sir, three hundred thousand passengers, and it is a little over that, at thirty-five dollars each would amount to \$10,500,000 that was paid last year for the transportation of emigrants to the port of New York alone, and every dollar of it went into the pocket of a foreign ship-owner. This ought not to be so. Formerly our wooden ships brought them. That day has gone by. It was uncertain whether that ship would be twenty or sixty days on the passage. Now they know to the hour when they will land.

But, sir, you see that this enormous amount of \$10,500,000 is a very considerable item, and we may say the chief item of profit to these foreign lines, and all the nations that are engaged in this traffic are building up their commerce and carrying it all over the world by the profit on their traffic between their own ports and the city of New York. Ought this thing so to be?

But, sir, what is the remedy? I have said before that I did not think differential duties would accomplish the purpose; nor do I. Sir, our ship-builders must learn a new trade. It is not now the ships of a thousand tons, alluded to by my distinguished friend from Maine on the other side of the Chamber, in comparison with the flat-boats and scows of the St. Clair flats, that are to bear our flag around the world. Those are not the ships I am talking about. I am talking of iron ships, three-thousand ton iron ships, that do the commerce of the world. Those are the ships we want. Those are the ships we must have, or else we cannot compete with other nations in this traffic. We have lost the whole of it, and we have built up a commerce all over the world for our worst enemy by the profits of this traffic that is of right ours, and which we ought to have. The time may come when we will say that no ship shall take a pound of freight except on an American bottom. I am not prepared to advocate that or any such measure now.

As you will see, sir, our ship-builders have four million three hundred thousand tons of domestic commerce to operate upon. That is a strict monopoly. No nation interferes with it; and it is the second largest commerce in the world. Therefore I leave that out of the calculation. I do not bring that into the account at all. I simply bring in our foreign commerce. I said I was willing to allow a drawback of whatever the duties might be, or a bonus, for foreign commerce alone. I do not advocate that; I do not know that I am in favor of it. I throw it out as a suggestion.

In the first place, we have not these ships, and we cannot build them at present in competition with other nations; and yet they are the only means of transportation that can compete with other nations. We have not to-day a ship-yard in which to build a three-thousand ton ship. We can do it. We can enlarge our yards. We can build those ships; but the largest iron ship ever built in this country was, I believe, only about two thousand tons. And here I may say that one of the largest and most successful lines of steamers engaged in this traffic is an American line, a line which now carries our mails. It is owned by American citizens—Williams, Guion & Co. It has been an eminent success from the first. I should be willing to take that line under our flag so far as the foreign commerce is concerned, and no further. I should be willing, so far as I am

concerned, and I speak only for myself, to say to the people of the United States that for three years from this date, (for that is about the time it would take to build and establish a line,) or for two years, or for one year—I am not particular as to the time—you may go where you please and buy your ships for that length of time, and no longer, to be engaged in the foreign traffic; but they shall never be nationalized so as to interfere with our domestic traffic. That is a monopoly that belongs to us that must never be interfered with.

But then the ship-builders will bitterly oppose such a proposition. It is no hardship to the ship-builders, for they do not build one single ship now and they never have built a single ship to compete in this traffic. Nor is it any hardship to the present vessel-owners. They do not carry an emigrant; they do not carry a pound of valuable freight. They are driven from the trade; and it is no hardship to them if you allow them and others for three years to come in and compete for this most profitable traffic. Nor is it any particular benefit to the Clyde ship-builders, for they to-day build every ship that is engaged in your commerce; and they will continue to build them so long as they can build them cheaper than we can; and it does not make one single iota of difference to them whether they sell them to an American, a German, a Frenchman, or a Briton.

Now, sir, the question resolves itself into this: which is the most for the interest of American commerce? A fair profit on the building of a ship is said to be from ten to fifteen per cent. That would be from forty to sixty thousand dollars on the building of a three-thousand ton ship. But the ship earns twenty-five per cent. a year for twenty-one years, we will say. They would not do it ordinarily; but these German lines, as I have shown you, did it last year. Now, is it most for the interest of the commerce of the United States to permit, for a limited period, the purchase of a few steamships that can and will compete for this traffic, or shall we abandon the traffic altogether? Some say we can do it by subsidies. Very well; if you will pay sufficient subsidies you can do it. But I question very much whether any subsidies that this Congress would ever agree to offer would be deemed sufficient to induce our merchants owning shipping to go into the business. But let them try. It is a trade that must be learned. Allow them these drawbacks until they have experimented and brought themselves up to the point of building ships that will compete for this trade. We beat the world in wooden ships. We can, after a time, beat the world in iron ships. We cannot do it to-day. In the mean time the world is reaping a harvest from this commerce too great almost for computation.

But, Mr. President, there is one other way in which we might increase our commerce—

one that is simple—and that is by enlarging it. If we see fit to enlarge our own domestic commerce we shall increase it. We must enlarge it by enlarging our borders. Take in the islands of the Gulf; take in the Sandwich Islands; in process of time take in the Dominion of Canada; take in Columbia; and you will enlarge your commerce immeasurably. But, sir, one thing at a time. An opportunity is now offered you by a simple vote of enlarging your commerce, and enlarging it tremendously. San Domingo stands rapping at the door for admission. Why should we not take San Domingo in? Does any man here comprehend the vast importance that the traffic with San Domingo would be? Why, sir, in 1789 the commerce of San Domingo was immensely greater than the commerce of Cuba at the present day.

Mr. SUMNER. The whole island.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, sir; the whole island. I read an extract from Alison's History of Europe, volume six, pages 99, 100, 101, and 137:

"San Domingo, the largest with the exception of Cuba, and beyond all question, before the revolution, the most flourishing of the West India islands, is about a hundred marine leagues or three hundred English miles in length, and its mean breadth is about thirty leagues or ninety miles. It contains three thousand square leagues, of which two thirds were in 1789 in the hands of the Spanish, and one third in those of the French."

"The produce of the island and the commerce which it maintained with the mother country before the commencement of the troubles were immense. The French part alone raised a greater quantity of colonial produce than the whole British West India islands taken together. Its exports in 1793 amounted to the enormous value of 189,000,000 francs, or £7,560,000, (about \$38,000,000,) and the gross produce, including the Spanish portion, reached 460,000,000 francs, or £18,400,000, (about \$92,000,000,) while its imports in manufactures of the parent State, were no less than 250,000,000 francs, or £10,000,000 sterling, (about \$50,000,000.) More than half of this immense produce was re-exported from France to other States, and the commerce thence arising was the chief support of its maritime power. Sixteen hundred vessels"—

Mark you right here, Mr. President, we are at work now in the interest of commerce; we are trying to restore commerce; and Alison says—

"Sixteen hundred vessels and twenty-seven thousand sailors were employed in conducting all the branches of this vast colonial traffic."

That was in 1789; and to-day the island of San Domingo is more prolific than it was then. With the new modes of cultivation, with the new processes of manufacture, under the American flag, with freedom, we should within five years have a greater commerce from San Domingo than she ever produced before. In 1789 it required sixteen hundred vessels and twenty-seven thousand sailors to do that traffic.

"Sixteen hundred vessels and twenty-seven thousand sailors were employed in conducting all the branches of this vast colonial traffic. The inhabitants of the French portion consisted of twenty-five thousand Europeans, an equal number of free mulattoes, and four hundred thousand negro slaves. The soil of the island was equally suitable in the plains

for the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and cotton, and in the mountains for that of coffee and cocoa. The value of its produce was not less than £30,000,000, (about \$150,000,000,) at the present value of money, of which at least a half belonged to France. With so magnificent a settlement, France had no occasion to envy the dependencies of all other States put together. It was this splendid and unequaled colonial possession which the French nation threw away and destroyed at the commencement of the revolution, with a recklessness and improvidence of which the previous history of the world had afforded no example."

Alison wrote this history sometime ago. Had he waited till this day he would have seen a folly that exceeded that of France, in case this Government should reject the island. Alison will have to correct his history, unless that treaty is ratified and the island of San Domingo admitted into the Union. Why, sir, look at the map. The island of San Domingo is several hundred miles nearer by water to New York than New Orleans. It is directly south of New York, and it flanks the whole of the West India islands. It is a little out of our way in going to New Orleans, but it is several hundred miles nearer by water to the city of New York than New Orleans. Sir, owning the island of San Domingo, Cuba as absolutely and inevitably falls as the leaves fall in December. Cuba in an inconceivably short space of time will follow San Domingo.

My friend from Massachusetts must remember that when, in 1858, the Democratic party offered a proposition in this Chamber to pay \$200,000,000 for Cuba, every Democrat on this floor was in favor of it.

Mr. SUMNER. That was in the interest of slavery.

Mr. CHANDLER. Says my friend that was in the interest of slavery; and so it was. It was as a bulwark to slavery. This is in the interest of freedom. That is the difference between the two propositions. They would pay \$200,000,000 for the island of Cuba in the interest of slavery. We will not accept a better island in the interest of freedom.

Mr. SUMNER. All are free in San Domingo.

Mr. CHANDLER. Exactly so; and let us raise the American flag there, and they will all be free in Cuba in less than five years. Sir, the possession of that island flanks all the West India islands, and gives us the key to the Gulf; and once possessing the key to the Gulf, we make all the world tributary to us; we control the products of the tropics; we control the sugar and coffee of the world, and make all the world tributary to us.

But let me continue this extract.

"The following table contains the comparative wealth, produce, and trade of San Domingo, before 1789:

Population.....	600,000
Sugar, exported, (pounds).....	672,000,000
Coffee, (pounds).....	86,780,000
Ships employed in trade.....	1,686
Sailors.....	27,000
Exports to France, (pounds sterling).....	6,720,000
Imports from France, (pounds sterling)....	9,890,000

[McKenzie's San Domingo 321; Damas, 3, 112.]

But again, in the Book of the World, by Richard S. Fisher, published by Colton, of New York, in 1849, I find the following:

"The fertility of these regions is unsurpassed, and the soil is capable with little trouble or cultivation of producing more sugar and other valuable commodities than all the British islands together. The inhabitants, however, are not industrious."

"The country is well watered. The river Yuma flows through the valley of Vega Real for upward of seventy miles, and falls into the bay of Samana. This river is navigable for thirteen leagues from its mouth."

"The Dominican territory comprehends two thirds of the island. The country is fertile in the productions of the West Indies, and in copper, gold, iron, and coal. The pearl fisheries are carried on in the great bays. The principal ports are St. Domingo, Puerta de Plata, Azua, Samana, and Monte Christi."

"The principal articles of export are mahogany, lignum-vite, logwood, tobacco, (in leaf, and cigars, cattle, hides, yellow and white wax, gum guaiacum, honey, and lumber."

"The population is over two hundred thousand, of which half are whites, who hold the general administration, and two thirds of the other half are mulattoes, a great portion of whom are landed proprietors. Slavery has been forever abolished in the republic. Government is similar in form to the United States. President, senate, and house of representatives and judiciary, with the usual powers conceded to the several departments."

"There is no late statistical information relative to these governments, in fact none since the separation. The commerce belonging to this island ascertained from the returns of 1836 shows the following results: three hundred and sixty-nine ships of 59,589 tons burden, with cargoes worth £474,782, or \$2,278,954, entered; and three hundred and ninety-five ships of 52,485 tons, with cargoes valued at £921,336, or \$4,442,412, cleared out; thus leaving a balance in favor of the island of £446,554, or \$2,163,456."

Johnson, in his Gazetteer, published in London in 1850, speaking of the whole island of San Domingo, says:

"The soil is highly fertile, and a great part of the island is covered by dense forests of mahogany, iron-wood, logwood, cedar, and other valuable timber trees. Products comprise the plantain, vanilla, and manioc, besides ordinary colonial resources; but cultivation and wealth had so much declined that in 1826 the export of sugar amounted to only 32,864 pounds, that of coffee to 32,190,000 pounds, and that of cotton to 620,972 pounds, the two latter amounts being respectively only about two fifths and one tenth of the exports in 1789, when the island was a French colonial possession and at the height of its prosperity." [That would make coffee about 77,000,000 pounds and cotton about 7,000,000 pounds in 1789.] "In 1836 37,662,674 pounds of coffee, 6,767,902 pounds of logwood, 4,854,944 feet of mahogany, 1,222,716 pounds of tobacco, besides cotton, cocoa, cigars, sugar, rags, wax, and ginger formed the chief exports. In 1836 the imports at the principal port were worth £474,782, or \$2,373,910, and the exports worth £921,336, or \$4,606,680," [showing for 1836 the excess of exports over imports at the one principal ports of \$2,232,770.]

Johnson also says that—

"From 1635 to 1790 the island was by far the most flourishing of all the Indian colonies."

McCulloch, in his Commercial Dictionary, says:

"There has been an extraordinary decline in the quantity and value of the articles exported from the island of San Domingo since 1789. Sugar, for example, has fallen off from 141,000,000 pounds to almost nothing; coffee from about 77,000,000 pounds to a little more than 32,000,000 pounds in 1826; cotton

from 7,000,000 pounds to 620,000 pounds in 1826; indigo from 758,000 pounds to nothing, &c. Mahogany is almost the only article the exports of which have rapidly increased of late years."

San Domingo used formerly to be one of the greatest sources of coffee supply, having exported in 1783 about 78,400,000 pounds, and it is supposed that but for the negro insurrection which broke out in 1792 the exports of that year would have amounted to 94,080,000 pounds. The devastation occasioned by this event caused for a series of years an almost total cessation of supplies. Recently, however, they have again begun to increase, and are understood to amount at present to above 40,000,000 pounds a year."

The following is given as a table of the sources of supply of coffee as exported from the places named:

	Tons.
Mocha and Arabian ports.....	10,000
Java	18,000
Sumatra and other ports of India.....	8,000
Brazil and Spanish main.....	42,000
San Domingo.....	20,000
Cuba and Porto Rico.....	25,000
British West India colonies.....	11,000
Dutch West India colonies.....	5,000
French West India colonies.....	8,000

Total 147,000 showing St. Domingo producing and exporting about one seventh of the total product about 1833 and 1840."

"The sugar-cane is said to have been first cultivated in San Domingo or Hayti in 1506. It succeeded better there than in any of the West Indian islands.

"Peter Martyr, in a work published in 1530, states that in 1518 there were twenty-eight sugar works in San Domingo, established by the Spaniards. 'It is marvelous,' says he, 'to consider how all things increase and prosper in the island. There are now twenty-eight sugar presses wherewith great plenty of sugar is made. The canes, or reeds, wherein the sugar groweth, are bigger and higher than in any other place; and are as big as a man's wrist and higher than the stature of a man by the half. This is more wonderful that whereas in Valencia, in Spain, where a great quantity of sugar is made yearly, whenever they apply themselves to the great increase thereof, yet doth every root bring forth not past five or six, or at most, seven of these reeds; whereas in San Domingo one root beareth twenty and oftentimes thirty.'"

"Sugar from San Domingo formed for a very long period the principal part of the European supplies. Previous to its devastation, in 1790, no fewer than one hundred and thirty million pounds of sugar were exported from the French portion of the island alone."

Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World says:

"San Domingo comprises about three fifths of the island, or 22,000 square miles, or 14,083,000 acres; the population, 128,500.

In 1852 324 vessels arrived, of 30,055 tons and value \$1,206,000, and 298 vessels departed, of 29,914 tons and value \$1,614,000."

Colton, in his Atlas of the World, New York, 1856, gives San Domingo as three fifths of the whole island, with an area of 17,609 square miles or 11,269,760 acres, with a population of 136,500. He gives for 1852, 324 vessels arrived, of 30,055 tons, and 298 vessels departed, of 29,914 tons; imports, \$1,163,367, and exports \$1,555,920. In 1852 the revenue amounted to \$374,516, and expenses annually about \$250,000.

Harper's Gazetteer, 1855, gives San Domingo as three fifths of the whole island, with an area of 17,000 geographical square miles:

"Products consist of a spontaneous produce of

mahogany, (of which San Domingo furnishes the best in the world,) satin-wood, fustic, lignumvite, and Brazil-wood, &c. The most industrious part is the north, generally called the Ciboa, where the staple article consists of an excellent quality of tobacco, of which, according to the season, fifty to eighty thousand seroons, (one hundred weight each,) or five to eight million pounds, are produced. Soil is suited for any tropical produce, but great indolence prevails among the generality of inhabitants, and the great advantages which nature has bestowed remain undeveloped."

Harper gives revenue in 1852 at \$374,516, and expenditure under ordinary circumstances amounts to about \$250,000.

Homans's *Cyclopedia of Commerce*, published in New York, 1858, (under the head of "mahogany,") says:

"The mahogany which is most accessible at Honduras grows upon moist, low land, and is, generally speaking, decidedly inferior to that brought from Cuba and San Domingo, being soft, coarse, and spongy, while the other is close-grained and hard, of a darker color, and sometimes strongly figured; * * * Messrs. Broadwood, the piano-forte manufacturers of London, gave the immense sum of £3,000, or \$15,000, for three logs of mahogany! These logs, the produce of a single tree, were each about fifteen feet long and thirty-eight inches square. They were cut into veneers of an eighth of an inch. The wood was particularly beautiful and capable of receiving the highest polish, and when polished reflecting the light in the most varied manner, like the surface of a crystal, and from the wavy form of the pores offering a different figure in whatever direction it was viewed."

Showing that the products there are enormously valuable even at present. But besides this it must be remembered that this island of San Domingo has returned to its virgin fertility. Any man who has spent a season in the tropics knows that the rank vegetation which there springs up spontaneously will by its decay restore the soil to its original virgin productiveness in a very short time. Some of the lands in the island of San Domingo have lain idle for hundreds of years until vast and most valuable forests have grown up. Who does not know that if the island was under the American flag, with peace and safety to the inhabitants, under the modern methods of cultivation the production would greatly exceed in a very short time the enormous product of 1789?

The population of Dominica is only seven to the square mile, while the population of the French West Indies is two hundred and seventy-six to the square mile; of the Danish West Indies, three hundred and twelve; and of the Swedish West Indies, three hundred and sixty to the square mile. The population is very sparse. It would soon be absorbed. It is like the old French population of Detroit when my colleague and myself first went there. Then the old French inhabitants comprised a majority of the population; but now you could hardly recognize one of them. They have been entirely absorbed. So it will be with the population of San Domingo. To-day they carry their molasses to market on the backs of mules over mountains. Give them American enter-

prise, American capital, American railroads, and American agricultural implements, and in five years you would see the island of San Domingo bloom and blossom like the rose.

Sir, the island of Cuba, for which the Democratic party, in the interest of and as a bonus to slavery, once proposed to pay \$200,000,000, never reached the same productiveness that the island of Hayti has attained. Cuba is one third larger than Hayti and five times the size of Jamaica, six hundred and fifty miles in length, its greatest breadth one hundred and ten miles, and its average width from fifty to sixty miles, its estimated area thirty-four thousand eight hundred square miles, and its coast line about two thousand miles. In 1852, which was the most productive year Cuba has ever seen, her productions were as follows, according to Lippincott's *Gazetteer*, published in 1864:

Sugar, hundred weight.....	7,291,909
Coffee, hundred weight.....	291,725
Tobacco, hundred weight.....	444,040
Molasses, hogsheads.....	267,185
Brandy, pipes.....	39,411
Honey, barrels.....	103,175
Beeswax, hundred weight.....	18,725
Population in 1580.....	16,000
Population in 1850.....	1,247,230
Population in 1853.....	1,009,000
Or 28 to a square mile.	

I will now present a table showing the comparative productions of the two islands:

Statement of value of principal articles of Cuban produce for year 1849, (being the largest year given.)

Garden fruits.....	\$14,839,500
Sugar.....	18,699,924
Esculents.....	6,007,060
Tobacco.....	5,042,829
Coffee.....	2,206,131
Indian corn.....	1,884,982
Charcoal.....	1,750,110
Cedar, mahogany, &c.....	1,711,193
Molasses.....	1,462,728
Other agricultural products.....	3,728,175
Beef.....	3,605,780
Pork.....	1,346,055
Eggs.....	1,166,880
Birds.....	1,074,216
Milk.....	326,040
Hides.....	180,289
Mutton.....	120,000

Total.....\$59,791,462

Value of San Domingo products in 1789...\$150,000,000
(See Alison, volume six.)

Total value of Cuban exports and imports at different periods.

Exports.	
1837.....	\$20,346,607
1841.....	26,774,618
1842.....	28,684,701
1843.....	25,029,792
1844.....	25,426,591
1845.....	18,792,812
1848.....	26,077,063
1849.....	22,436,555
1850.....	25,631,948
1851.....	31,341,683
Cuba, exports 1851, (largest year given).....	31,341,683
San Domingo, exports 1789, (largest year given).....	33,000,000
(See Alison, volume six.)	

Imports.

1837.....	\$22,940,357
1841.....	25,081,408
1842.....	24,637,527
1843.....	23,422,096
1844.....	23,771,865
1845.....	23,499,357
1848.....	25,435,565
1849.....	26,320,460
1850.....	28,983,227
1851.....	32,311,430
Cuba, imports 1851, (largest given),.....	32,311,430
San Domingo, imports 1789, (largest given),.....	50,000,000

The total product of the whole island of Cuba was \$59,791,462 in its most favorable year, while the product of San Domingo in 1789 was \$150,000,000. And this fertile, this delightful island is rapping at our door for admission; and I, in the interest of commerce, say to this Senate that you cannot admit her too soon.

Sir, the commercial relations of this nation will be entirely changed the moment we take possession of the West India islands. I am not afraid of representatives from the island of San Domingo, although they may be black; and I trust my friend from Massachusetts will not be afraid of representatives of that race. Let them come in; let them become part and parcel of these United States in a territorial capacity, and we shall own all their shipping, we shall carry on all their commerce. They produce articles that we need and now pay for in gold. Then we shall pay for them in the products of the loom, the anvil, and the farm. New England will make the boots and shoes and the flannels and the cottons for that vast population. The Mississippi will furnish them their food. I spent a winter once in the island of Cuba, and I found that nearly every article of food consumed there was imported into the island at that time, because it was more profitable for them to raise sugar, coffee, and tobacco for export, and buy their food, than it was for them to raise their food in connection with the sugar and coffee and tobacco. Sir, once open these islands to American commerce and the whole world becomes tributary to the United States.

Mr. HOWARD. As my colleague has referred to Cuba he will pardon me for suggesting a single inquiry. He speaks of the acquisition of Cuba—

Mr. CHANDLER. I meant San Domingo. I was talking about San Domingo.

Mr. HOWARD. I should like to understand my colleague's views, if he chooses to express them, on the subject of the value of Cuba; that is, the gold cash value we may be called upon to pay for it if we ever acquire it. He will pardon me for saying also that I entertain this idea, that if we should ever go so far in our acquisitions as to acquire Cuba I should suppose that the advantage would be at least equal and mutual to both parties, and that we might as well expect Cuba to pay us something for taking her into our embraces as to pay her

anything for that pleasure on our part. That is to say in plain English, I never would give a cent for it—not a copper.

Mr. CHANDLER. My colleague and I concur. When I voted for the acquisition of that iceberg on the northwest coast I got done buying land. I have never regretted the purchase of that, but still I have had enough of all that kind of business. I do not propose to pay for any other land in cash. But I may be told that we are going to pay \$1,500,000 for San Domingo; we are going to pay \$1,500,000 for the public works, for the property that comes into our hands—\$1,500,000 for what cost many million dollars. I do not object to paying that small sum, but I would pay nothing for Cuba. I do not want to buy any more land.

Mr. SUMNER. What does my friend say to the prospect of war in San Domingo, and the probable cost to our country from a war?

Mr. CHANDLER. I am glad that the Senator has called my attention to that. I should like to know if we take possession of San Domingo and establish a territorial government there who is going to fight us. I suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts that if you will hoist the American flag on San Domingo you cannot get up a war. Do you suppose the people there are going to fight their benefactors?

The Senator may ask me whether there was not war after the annexation by France and by Spain. I will tell you the reason of that. France sent more than fifty thousand soldiers, and expended more than fifty million dollars, to reduce this people to slavery, and she failed; and I am glad that she did fail. Spain, even as late as 1861, took possession of that island as a free gift, and what was the first assertion made by the man chief in command? He said that all the slaves that had escaped from Cuba must be returned to their masters, and that declaration went out among the Dominicans. The Dominicans understood that that was the cruel intention of the Spanish authorities, and they rose against them. Besides, Spain ruled them with a cruel despotism. We propose to extend over them the protection of our flag.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. President, I rise to suggest that the order of the day was passed over informally. I do not want to interrupt the Senator from Michigan, but I wish he would confine himself to the matter of commerce, and let us get at the business of the day.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have been confining myself strictly to commerce. It is my earnest desire to increase our commerce and to restore the commerce of the world to our own flag. I have done my best in the advocacy of that policy. Of course I shall have to yield if I am out of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The unfinished business was passed over subject to a demand for the regular order. The Chair does not understand the Senator from Maine as demanding it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I am very much obliged to my friend from Maine, and I will bring my remarks to a close.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is just what I want. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senate will bear me witness that the questions which have been put to me have extended my remarks longer than they would otherwise have occupied. I had hoped to get through in an hour, but I have not been able to do so. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Maine for having detained him so long from the business of the day.

Mr. President, last year England spent more money to place a dry-dock upon a barren rock in Nassau than the whole cost of San Domingo will be to the United States; and yet she stands back in holy horror and exclaims to us, "It will not do for you to go off your continent; you have got enough; stay where you are." All the nations of the earth say the same thing, "Do not take possession of San Domingo." They are opposed to our taking possession of San Domingo. Why? They know that the moment we take possession of San Domingo we take control of the traffic of the Gulf, and for that traffic they have been expending millions upon millions of treasure and thousands upon thousands of lives for the last three hundred years. England holds on to every rock she owns in the Gulf with the tenacity of death. Offer her \$7,000,000 or \$10,000,000 for any worthless rock she owns and she will laugh in your face. And yet she stands back in holy horror for fear we shall get a position in the Gulf. Mr. Alison ought to have waited before he wrote that history. He never ought to have written it until this day. I do not know that my friend from Massachusetts was in when I read that extract from Alison.

Mr. SUMNER. I know it perfectly. I read it long ago.

Mr. CHANDLER. He said the relinquishment of San Domingo by the French was a folly the like of which the world had never seen. The world never had seen it up to that time, and I do not think the world will ever see it exceeded. But if this Senate should reject the treaty for the acquisition of San Domingo it would show a piece of folly beyond which that pales into utter and absolute insignificance.

Now, sir, why can we not take possession of this magnificent island of San Domingo, the "Gem of the Antilles?" Why can we not take hold of this vast commerce that will make the whole world tributary to us? I do not know, sir. The world opposes us. There is not a foreign minister here who is not opposing this acquisition. The world is expending money in this very town, in this very city of Washington, to prevent us getting possession of this island. Foreign Powers know that the moment we take possession of San Domingo the West India islands are virtually in our possession. They know that when we raise the American flag on the island of San Domingo slavery falls in the island of Cuba; and when slavery falls, the island of Cuba falls into our hands; and it will not be, in my humble judgment, five years before the island of Cuba will be ours, if we raise our flag in the island of San Domingo.

Sir, I am not afraid of Cabral. Raise the American flag, and Cabral becomes as peaceful as the infant. Whom are they going to contend against? The presence of a single little ship of war in the bay of Samana has held that island perfectly quiet and quiescent ever since it was placed there. Raise the American flag, and you have peace, security, and no war. Whom will they fight? Will they fight their friends? Will they fight the Government that gives them security? No, sir; you will have peace.

What, then, prevents us from instantly, now, going into executive session, and admitting the island of San Domingo at once? Diplomacy; nothing but diplomacy. Foreign diplomats understand these things better than we do. Diplomatic dinners have a great deal to do with keeping out San Domingo. They understand the value of those things. We do not. They want to hold the possessions they now have in the Gulf, and they do not want us to interfere. But we are going to do it. We are going to take San Domingo in, and then in process of time we are going to take in Cuba and the other islands; and we are going to take in also the dominion north of us. It is but a mere question of time. Our commerce is going to grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength, until we shall make all the world tributary to us, then and forever after.

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